1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

At meals women used to serve adult men first and children after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collio. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Sometimes, if a daughter has just been born, the mother may
be given a strong and bitter drink made from the leaves either
of the *foye* or *fol·o*.[11] The idea seems to be that the beverage is
so powerful that it will strengthen the woman and enable her
to bear a son next time.

In a sense the Araucanians consider that a newly born infant
is on trial; that is, before devoting themselves to it whole-
heartedly, they want some assurance that it is sound enough
to survive. As a combination test of weakness and remedy for
it the baby may be given a drink of cold water, mixed with the
juice of the *refu* plant.[12] A belief prevails that this drink will
either make the child stronger by cleansing its stomach and
forcing it to urinate, or cause it to die; but my informant
admitted that he had never heard of an infant that had actually
perished from the treatment. Sometimes, too, parents perform
a little rite designed to give strength to a child. Early in the
morning after a night when the moon is full, they hold the
baby over the fire in their own home. The father takes the feet,
and the mother holds the head. Gently they stretch the infant,
praying that it may grow and be strong.

A lying-in period that may extend to ten days or two weeks
follows confinement. When the mother feels herself fully re-
covered, she takes a bath in water made fragrant with the
leaves of aromatic plants. Not until a woman has thus an-
nounced her recovery are her other young offspring free to
see her and the baby at close range. For immature children to
approach their recently delivered mother too soon is thought to
be dangerous, causing boys to be weaklings and girls to be so
enfeebled that they will die in childbirth when their time comes.
No set date is fixed for the resumption of marital relations.
Each couple makes its own arrangements after the wife feels
that she has returned to normal health and activity.[13]

[11] *Fol·o* is identified in Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 50) as *Baldus fragrans*. Whisky or cognac is sometimes substituted nowadays for the native beverage.

[12] Augusta (*op. cit.*, p. 51) failed to identify *refu*, but described it as a short shrub with yellow flowers and small round leaves.

[13] Latcham (1909, p. 360) said that cohabitation is not resumed until a child "has cut all its teeth." Cooper (1946, p. 733) mentioned abstinence

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

along in one household, he may build a separate *ruka* for the discarded wife. The latter could insist on returning to her parents, but if she is the mother of grown children who can attend to her wants, she may prefer living in her own establishment to going back to her natal home.

Married women are expected to be faithful to their mates, but no serious restrictions are placed on the postmarital conduct of men. Although an adulterous wife is supposedly subject to any punishment her husband cares to inflict on her,[15] it is doubtful if men often carry out severe reprisals. In the great majority of cases married couples learn to make whatever adjustments are necessary and to live out their lives while making the best of any situation that confronts them.

DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS[16]

Ignorance of sanitation and medical care, combined with inadequate housing and improper diets, prevent many Araucanians from living to a ripe old age. As soon as a person dies word is sent out to his neighbors and to friends and relatives living on other reservations. Only minor differences occur in the burial patterns for adults of either sex; even funerals of suicides do not depart from customary lines. More elaborate ceremonies and richer grave offerings may accompany the rites of prominent and wealthy persons, but the general procedure is much the same for all.

When a person dies his housemates wash the body, arrange the hair, and dress the deceased in his best clothes. The corpse is usually kept indoors for three or four days, during which the section of the *ruka* in which it lies is tabu to small children. If the person had a favorite hockey stick, musical instrument, or household utensil, it is kept beside the body, but the rest of his possessions may be freely handled and soon pass into normal use among his heirs. There is little fear of contact with a corpse. Even the bedding on which a dying person lay is washed and again utilized, except when wealthy people prefer to give it

[15] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

[16] Cf. the accounts in Guevara, 1908, pp. 263–84; 1929, II: 33–56; and Hunse, 1939, pp. 217–21.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

major sorts, athletic events and gambling competitions. For the latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.[11] In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey.

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca;* Mapuche, *palikantun*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.[12] So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *loñko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players had to observe sex tabus before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *ñillatun* celebrations.

Chueca, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.[13] The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

[11] Smith (1855, pp. 320–23) and Manquilef (1914, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

[12] Cooper (1946, p. 739) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

[13] For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Manquilef, 1914, pp. 140 ff.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.)

(*e*) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke.

(*f*) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.)

(*g*) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.)

(*h*) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly.

(*i*) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Robles Rodrígues, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41),

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

more recently, the powdered scrapings off the broken edge of an iron kettle are used. The ashes must be those of either huique or pelú. Those of pilfü must not be used as they are poisonous. This mixture "certainly dries up that oozing." 844

There is a belief, in all areas, that the umbilical cord should be saved, but the reasons for doing so, and for disposing of it, differ. Quoting an Alepúe mother: "I tied the cord of each of my children, when it fell off, into a little piece of cloth and put it somewhere in the ruka. The most recent ones I kept there [on a nail of a rafter in a corner of the ruka] and there [on a shelf attached to the side of the ruka]. The cord must never be thrown out of the ruka. If it is, the child will always have fear within itself, and that without reason. Without thinking of what I was doing, I threw the cord of one of my daughters out-of-doors after it had been lying on the rafters for a while. Consequently she has always had fear in herself; today, although she is 13 years old, she dislikes going out of the ruka when it is dark." A listening-in woman agreed, and added: "It causes that child to be without courage in general." Another listening-in woman had a hearty laugh when asked where the cords of her children were, and said, "I do not know where they are now; they got lost somewhere in our ruka. I kept them inside the ruka, however." 844 184 [784]

A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman had not heard of the belief of the Alepúe women. She had kept the cords of her children in the ruka because throwing them out indicates to others that the parents do not care what the child will turn out to be.

According to Panguipulli informants, the cord today is thrown into running water, such as a creek or brook. Formerly it was wrapped up in a small piece of cloth and stored under the rafters. Doing this gave the child courage, even the courage to climb tall trees. Informants had not heard of anyone burying a cord, or of undesirable consequences if it were thrown into the fire. "I certainly never heard that throwing it into the fire would make a child poke at fires," a belief held by the Chippewa. When told of the Arapaho custom of sewing the cord into a beaded bag and owning it as an adult, a woman remarked, "Why go through so much trouble and why save those things so long?"

SECUNDINES, PLACENTA, CAUL

After the child is born, the midwife or the mother's mother cleans it, swaddles it in a piece of homewoven woolen cloth, and ties it to its cradle. In the meantime another woman, or the woman's husband, if everyone else is busy, makes the mother gag by pushing two fingers 846

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

842 informant knew that in the area in which she was reared, girls were preferred to boys, because girls enhanced the income of their families at marriage (referring to the bridal price). To which a woman listening in remarked, "On the other hand, a son enhanced his father's house not only with his bride but with all the gifts that both he and his bride received" (referring to the exchange of gifts at marriage).

SEX PREDICTION

842 No manner of producing sex was known, but there were ways of
787 predicting the sex of an unborn child. A boy could be expected if the fetus lay high in the mother's body, and the veins on the back of her hands stood out prominently—"they say that her blood vessels are excited"—and her complexion was clear and rosy, that is, if she looked well in general. "People notice this and say, 'She is carrying a little man.'" If the woman's hips were broad, the veins on her hands flat, her face pale, and she gave the impression of not feeling well, persons said, "She is carrying a little woman."

The sex of the child to be born was also predicted from the first word spoken by the last child born. If the child says "mother," it will be a girl; if "father," a boy. "And this always comes true."

REBIRTH

775 There is no belief in reincarnation. "When a person dies, it means
845 that that one is now gone forever." A child born with teeth is remarked about, but no one attaches any significance to it.

PRENATAL FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

843 The father of an unborn child is in no way affected by food taboos
262 or food prescriptions; his pregnant wife is. She must not eat grease, for it will cause her baby to have a running nose. Also, she must not eat brain of any animal—the effect of doing so was not known. Eating speckled eggs did not cause a child to have freckles, something the Chippewa believed (Hilger, 1951, p. 7). The pregnant woman was to be provided with the food she craved, "like apples or chicha (alcoholized cider), or anything at all, except grease and brain." Not obtaining the craved foods might cause her to abort. Pregnant women are known to differ in food habits. "One woman will want to eat, another has no appetite; one can eat much and heavy foods, another cannot."

843 The father of an unborn child was not hampered by conduct taboos
784 or prescriptions. His pregnant wife was warned not to fall or to lift

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

heavy objects; either might cause her to abort. Should she happen to see a hunchback, a lame or maimed person, or one with an ugly face or an unusual eye, she was to do no more than glance at him; a prolonged look might cause her child to be deformed in the same manner. "One of my sons was born with only one finger on his right hand; I had looked at a man with such a hand while I was carrying the boy." If a pregnant woman looks at an eclipse through an opening in the roof and simultaneously scratches her body, the child will have a black mark on the corresponding part of its body. "I know a woman who rubbed her eye during an eclipse and thereby caused her child to have a black ring around one eye." Nothing can be done during pregnancy to make a child pretty. "In that respect the child will be born as God wants it to be." 843 784

CHILDBIRTH, AND CARE OF MOTHER AND NEWBORN BABY

PLACE OF BIRTH, ATTENDANTS, PERSONS PRESENT, AIDS, PROCEDURE, RECORDING THE BIRTH

The proper place for the birth of a child was the home, that is the toldo, especially in winter. If the birth occurred in the toldo, a corner was curtained off with a blanket, behind which the baby was born. On rare occasions, in summer, birth took place in a shelter erected close to the toldo. An unmarried mother not infrequently delivered her child in an unfrequented place—in a wood, if one was nearby. "Such a woman feared the anger of her father." 844

There were no professional midwives. The woman's mother assisted with the delivery, unless she was too old or otherwise incapacitated, in which case the woman's mother-in-law, or, occasionally, another woman who was a close relative did so. In dire necessity a man assisted. One man had done so because there was a fiesta going on, to which everyone else had gone. An unmarried mother was assisted "by some woman whose heart moved her to do so, usually a friend."

Persons who were present, but who did not assist, were the woman's husband and her father; sometimes the children of the couple were also present, but just as often they were sent out to play.

In general, women had easy deliveries and took no decoctions to facilitate birth. A 65-year-old woman believed the easy deliveries to be due to a decoction which was given to young girls, "when they were only so tall [about 4 years old]. It was given to them so that they would have no labor pains, once their time came to be mothers." If a woman in labor began to feel weak, "you know it strikes some women in the heart," she was given a stimulating drink made of 844 278

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Hawks

of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of several stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most